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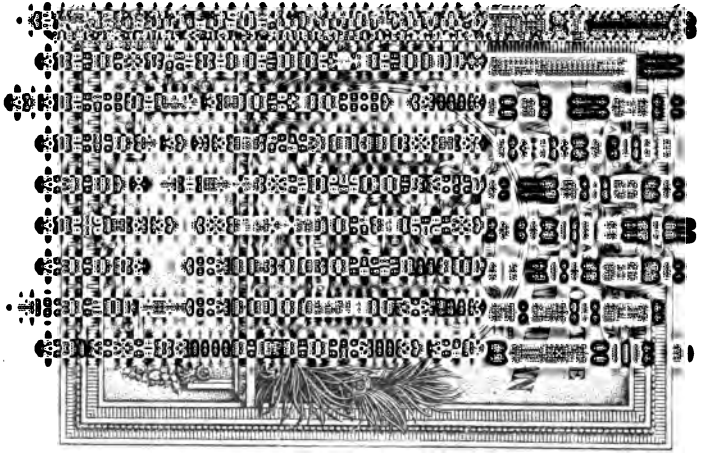

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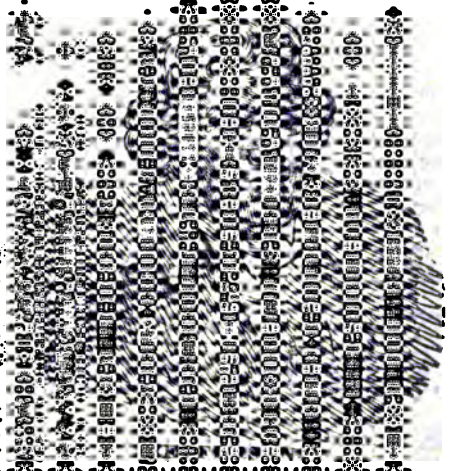

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PROGRESS OF

NATIVE AMERICAN SPIRIT!!

The NATIVE AMERICAN CONVENTION assembled at Worcester, September 30, 1846, for the purpose of nominating candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Govenor, and *Delegates at large*, to the *National Convention*, to be held at PITTSBURG, the second Tuesday of May, 1847, and for other purposes. Among a series of *pertinent Resolutions unanimously adopted*, were the following resolves:

Resolved:—That *American Labor ought to be protected against foreign competition—directly, and not by reflection*, because the shadow is infinitely theirs in comparison with the substance. If the *Manufacturers* believe in the efficacy of *incidental protection*, they ought to be included. But for *Farmers, Mechanic laborers, Sempstresses and Factory girls*, a capitation tax of $250 on *future* emigrants, is all the protection they ask, or with which they will be satisfied.

Thus the authorized experiment of the Native American Party, in Worcester, has plainly declared that the party, will hereafter, support a Protective Tariff, Provided—

It shall contain a capitation tax, not less than $250, and not otherwise.

It is a new issue between the laboring class and the capitalists. It is a proposition to continue to the latter, such protection as they may need against foreign capitalists, on the single condition, that, American Laborers shall also be protected against the competition of Foreign Laborers, on the soil of the Union; and a menace to prostrate every vestige of protection for capital, if the protection for American labor shall be withheld. The Native American party will not go back or abate from their demand. But whether capitalists will acceed to the terms, or hazard bankruptcy and ruin, remains to be ascertained by their future acts.

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THE

405-5-6

TWO TARIFFS COMPARED

AND

BOTH FOUND WANTING

IN THE ELEMENT OF

PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN LABOR.

WITH

AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:
REDDING & CO., No. 8 STATE STREET.
1846.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1846,
BY JESSE MANN,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

THE TWO TARIFFS COMPARED.

THE substitution of an ad valorem tariff in place of that of 1842, cannot fail to work important changes in the industrial pursuits of the people of the United States. The friends of the new tariff advocated it for that purpose; and its opponents opposed it for a like reason. Both, it is believed, entertain very erroneous views. Each unduly magnifies the advantages of their favorite system, and exaggerates the evils of the opposite. Both profess to seek the welfare of the people at large, and both deceive the people as well as themselves, in relation to the effect of the measures they severally advocate. Both profess to be governed by disinterested motives, and to aim at a nearer equilibrium between the laboring and non-laboring classes; while most of their measures are calculated to increase the disparity that already exists; for both proceed on the assumption that an increase of the laboring classes is beneficial, as if excessive competition in the labor market produced a contrary effect to a glut in the cotton or sugar market. It is the object of the following pages to exhibit in a plain and practical manner, the professions, claims and anticipations of the political Doctors to whom belongs the paternity of the specific, — cash, and discriminating system, now soon to expire; as well as of the fathers of the ad valorem credit system, that goes into operation on the first of December; and to show that neither system is calculated, without radical amendment, to promote the welfare of the people.

Of the two great political parties that divide the country, one is composed of discordant and incongruous materials, if we may judge from the professions of their leading exponents. The division from the free States profess a tender solicitude for the welfare of the laboring classes, (*understanding by the term all who labor with their hands in any calling, for a subsistence,*) while the division from the slave-holding States scarcely attempt to conceal their contempt of the white slaves of the North, or their disregard of the interests of the laboring classes. Yet both divisions unite in favor of the same system, whence it is clear that one or both are either hollow-hearted hypocrites, or else are ignorant of the effects the measures they support are calculated to

produce. The other party is composed of more uniform materials, but is open to the charge of greater ignorance or more profound dissimulation. The first may properly be termed the modified free-trade party; the other, partial protectionists. One includes the greater part of the Democratic party; the other, the Whigs, together with that portion of the Democrats who prefer to protect their own capital against the competition of European capitalists.

The politicians of the modified free-trade school advocate moderate duties on foreign productions, levied by per centage on the cost in foreign markets, and with but little if any discrimination in favor of those domestic productions that are least able to bear up against foreign competition. Revenue, and not domestic protection, is their avowed object; and therefore, but for the necessity of revenue to support the government, they would have no duties whatever. They insist that the amount of the duty enhances the cost of foreign productions to a like amount, and indirectly adds a like sum to the market value of similar productions of home origin. That the duty is virtually a tax of so much per cent levied on the consumers of the domestic products, for the especial advantage of the domestic producer, and for the benefit of the government, on consumers of foreign products. This is true so far as the amount of the duty is essential to raise the price up to the cost of producing the home product, but it is not true of those articles of which we produce more than enough for home consumption. It is entirely inoperative on bread stuffs and provisions generally. Moreover, it is asserted that the burden of imposts diminishes importations, (which is true,) and thereby prevents the sale and exportation of the great staples of the South and West, for the reason that foreign nations are precluded from purchasing to any great extent beyond the value of the productions we receive from them. Whence it is inferred, that by removing the duties on importations we may increase our exports to an unlimited extent. That is to say, we may sell any amount of *cotton*, *rice*, *tobacco*, *bread stuffs* and *provisions*, *provided we will receive* FOREIGN PRODUCTIONS *in* PAYMENT *for the whole amount.*

This theory is as fallacious as it is sectional and dishonest. *Cotton*, *rice*, *tobacco*, with an inconsiderable quantity of *bread stuffs* and *provisions*, make up the bulk of our exports. If then it were true, that under the free-trade system we might double or treble our exports, it is no less true, that the great majority of the people are precluded by the climate from producing those articles which alone find a sale in foreign markets, whence it is evident, that the majority cannot obtain means to pay for the necessaries they require. Precluded by the overwhelming competition of Europe from manufacturing themselves, and restricted to the cultivation of those products of which we already raise more than enough, idleness and poverty must ensue, until the pressure of want shall have reduced the wages of labor to the amount that barely sustains life. This is the condition to which a realization of the planter's dreams would reduce the people of the free States, and all without holding out the smallest equivalent to mitigate the severity of the sacrifice.

But it is not true, that our exports, or rather that the value of our exports is measured by the value of our imports, or that both may be increased to any considerable amount. It is conceded, that imports may be augmented to any assignable amount, not greater than the aggregate of our specie and credit, and so for a brief period, keep up a delusive show of prosperity, to be succeeded by general bankruptcy and helpless imbecility, like that which paralizes Spain, Mexico, and the other States of South America. Until agricultural laborers cost less than one shilling a day, we cannot supply Europe with bread to any amount worth naming. The grain growing States, therefore, having no home market, because manufacturing and the mechanic arts must be suppressed to make room for foreign productions; and no foreign market of any consequence, because the cheap labor of Prussia, Poland, Southern Russia, and the countries bordering the Black Sea, enables those countries to supply England and other importing States, if there be any, at a rate so low as to shut us out of the market, — the grain growing States, because of these circumstances, can have nothing to sell that will sell, and therefore cannot purchase foreign productions. Whence it follows, that so far as consumption depends on those States, there must be a great reduction after their credit shall be exhausted. Those who cannot sell the product of their labor will not labor. Being idle, they must be poor, and poverty is but an ill sustainer of heavy importations. The mill laborers and artisans generally, of the Eastern States, who now subsist by manufactures and kindred arts, must cease to be consumers, because they will be unable to pay. These must betake themselves to cultivating the soil, thus cutting off another market for western produce, and increasing the supply of agricultural products, already too abundant for the demand. Whence it follows, that unless the planting States are capable of consuming a greater amount of foreign productions than all the States together now consume, the free trade system must ultimately diminish importations, instead of increasing them.

Again, it is well known that a surplus supply of any article, diminishes the market value in a greater ratio than the surplus bears to the amount needed for present consumption. With all our restraints on imports, the foreign markets are drugged with cotton. The supply has outstripped the demand. The stock in store awaiting purchasers, grows larger from year to year, and the market price has receded in proportion to the accumulation of stock. Egypt and Bengal are rapidly adding to the general stock, and Texas, with its double capacity per acre, will soon add a large amount to the surplus. Prior to 1812, cotton was worth 37 cents a pound. Now it barely commands one-fifth of that sum. Here are the facts and the consequences. Cotton planting, which scarcely dates before 1800, has, in half a century, been extended, till all parts of the earth have been glutted. The supply constantly ahead of the demand, — the price continually going down. New sources of supply, where labor is under six cents a day, are just beginning to compete with the planting States, and yet the political guardians of those States seem to believe there is yet room for more

cotton. Why, if there be any foundation for the principles of political economy, every additional bale thrown into the market beyond the demand due to the increase of population, is a drawback on the value of the quantity previously in the market. Double the surplus in foreign markets, and the price will fall to less than half the present value. Increase the surplus in any proportion, and the aggregate credits accruing to the cotton planter, will diminish in a greater proportion. How then are the greater importations to be paid for, except by specie, State stocks and mortgages on the freehold? These are the only means of augmenting importation, and like all other commodities, these will diminish in value in proportion to the amount thrown on the market. The whole of these extraordinary means added to our exports, would be exhausted by ten years of perfect free trade. What then becomes of the planter's anticipated golden harvest? In pursuit of a shadow, he has prostrated his best customers. He has stimulated the production of cotton until the proceeds will not feed his laborers. Those laborers know no other employment, and cannot learn another except at a loss the labor of the remainder of their lives will not repay. He has expanded his cotton bubble until it explodes from excessive magnitude and gossamer tenuity, leaving only an exhausted soil, mortgaged for more than its value, and encumbered with a dependent population, whose labor will not purchase the food they consume. This is the goal to which free trade will conduct the cotton planter, provided there is sufficient credit to procure from foreign sources, those fabrics that our own shops and artisans now supply.

The inability of the agricultural States to pay for foreign fabrics, under the free trade system, on account of the failure of their home market, has already been mentioned. But this is but part of the evils that will ensue. Massachusetts alone contains over 100,000 persons who labor for a subsistence, and do not grow an ounce of their food; probably the addition of the same classes in all the States, will amount to one and a half millions. Under the free trade system, all of these must either come down to the level of the pauper laborers of Europe, or betake themselves to cultivating the soil. In that change of employment, they not only lose the character of consumers, but become producers in a department already overstocked to that degree, that flour will not net $3.00 a barrel to the wheat grower. The Corn Laws of England, from the repeal of which such high hopes have been anticipated, have been abrogated, and instead of an increased demand and better price for western produce, bread stuffs are lower than ever before known. What, then, will the staples of the West be worth, when a million and a half cease to be consumers, and add their labor to swell the agricultural surplus. Competition knows but one law. Its effects are the same in every branch of labor, the produce whereof is capable of measurement and comparison. The remuneration, in all cases, is inversely as the surplus, and directly as the present demand.

In its vaulting ambition to grasp all the benefits of government and the resources of the Eastern, Middle, and Western States, to the use of that small fraction of the American people, who rejoice in the cul-

ture of cotton, the soul that animates and stamps the visible lineaments of the free trade party, overleaps the mark of prudent selfishness, and embraces an *ignis fatuus*, instead of the golden prize at which it aims. The laws of trade, more potent than the lords of cottondom, frown, like a rock-bound coast on the desperate fortunes of the mariner, who, forgetting the barrier between himself and the luxuriant panorama that surmounts the ocean parapets, gives the wind to his sails, in pursuit of the distant scene, until his frail bark, dashing on the rocks he might have shunned, shipwrecks his fondest hopes, and sends him, like the dog who lost his dinner by snapping at its shadow in the river, drenched, cold and hungry, to repose on the naked sands, with no curtain but the hoar frost, and no prospect of better cheer on the morrow.

The other division of the free trade party, — the body without the soul — the physical strength of the party, — have more reason to be satisfied with the abrogation of the tariff of 1842, than the dictators who devised the substitute. The men of the party, whose hands are their chief or only capital, as is the case with farmers, mechanics, and laborers of all descriptions, were heavily taxed under the tariff of 1842, for the protection of DOMESTIC CAPITAL, *without any equivalent protection for their own labor;* that tariff containing no obstruction to the importation of the same cheap pauper laborers, whose work was so carefully excluded by onerous duties. The new ad valorem tariff, by reducing the imposts on those fabrics which are chiefly consumed by the laboring classes, relieves them of a tax to the extent of the reduction, as well on the domestic as on the foreign fabric. Moreover, if the new tariff works at all according to the expectations of its authors, importations must be greatly increased, so long as our credit remains good in Europe, and consequently an additional amount of labor will be required in foreign countries, and less at home. Moreover, the stagnation of manufactures, that must follow a transfer of our work to the workshops of Europe, will curtail the profits of our capitalists, and thereby put a period to the extension of railroads, and other operations that employ many laborers, whence the motive to stimulate emigration, with a view of reducing the cost of corporation improvements, will be greatly weakened. The difficulty of obtaining employment, will also react in Europe, and tend still further to retard emigration. So that, taking all circumstances into account, the American working classes, although they must necessarily suffer very severely for a few years, will ultimately be in a better position, than they would be under a continuance of the tariff of 1842. For the depression of labor, arising from an abandonment of our home manufactures, will work its own cure; while the depression, growing out of the excess of laborers imported under the partial protection that distinguishes the tariff of 1842, is remediless, except by pestilence or war. The hard handed branch of the free trade party, have never been able to discover any personal advantage, in sustaining the so called protective system, for the best of all reasons, that no advantage has accrued. The wages of labor are less than they were in 1816. Nominally less, and comparatively still smaller. The mechanic's pay is less; the farmer's surplus produce

hardly commands two-thirds its former value. And why? Because while the protection granted to capitalists has created a demand for thousands of hands, whose services would not otherwise have been required, the importation of laborers from Europe, in consequence of the omission of imposts on foreign emigrants, and in consequence of the instinct of capitalists to employ the cheapest help, has been six fold greater than the additional demand thus created. Thus the *incidental protection, promised the American laborers*, has been not only neutralized, but a great surplus of foreign laborers has been forced into every department of industry, producing in all, the destructive competition that redundancy never fails to create. And, although it must be admitted that this class do not generally perceive the cause of their retrogression in respectability and comparative resources, it is manifest they do perceive themselves in a worse condition than they were thirty years since; and so seeing and believing, they naturally conclude, that the incidental protection, inuring to American laborers, in consequence of protecting fabrics, is a political humbug, totally unworthy of their confidence and support. On the other hand, an ad valorem and moderate tariff, although it may bankrupt the present race of capitalists, and press heavily on themselves for a few years, yet promises in the end to restore them to the relative position they occupied thirty years since; for which reasons the new tariff is a reasonable source of gratification to them. BAD AS IT IS, *it is better for all classes, saving* CAPITALISTS, *than a tariff like that of* 1842, *which protected* CAPITAL *at the expense of labor.*

None will deny that heavy import duties, on foreign fabrics, operate to increase the profit of the capital employed at home in producing similar fabrics. How is this effect produced? Why, by enhancing the cost, and, by consequence, the market value of the articles subject to the rule. Is it not then surprising, that the professed guardians of the industrious classes, have never thought of extending the principle that they acknowledge so beneficial to capital, viz. to protect the working classes against foreign competition, by direct imposts on foreign laborers? The duty on foreign goods, adds so much to the market price of both the foreign and domestic fabric. The price is paid by all classes, in proportion to the quantities they consume. Those who manufacture, gain by it; the consumers lose. Now if labor and raw material were protected, as well as the capital employed in manufactures, the farmers and other laboring classes would more than recover back their losses, by reason of the extra cost of manufactures. Why then have the leaders of the free trade party, forborne to demand protection for their constituents, by imposts on foreign laborers, and on foreign materials, used in manufacturing processes, that come in competition with the productions of our own soil? Why have they exerted all their influence to augment the tide of emigration, when that emigration is the greatest curse that can befall their constituents? It is demonstrable that emigration works the same effect on American industry, that importation of foreign coals, free of duty, would in Pennsylvania, or cotton and woollens on the manufactures of Lowell. Why then do the

leaders of the democracy eschew the means that, if enforced, would redeem the working classes from the degraded condition into which partial legislation has plunged them? Truth compels us to answer, that from emigration comes a vast floating capital of votes, which these same leaders need to keep them in office, and that office and the spoils are dearer to their hearts than the interests of those they represent.

The advocates of the tariff of 1842 assume, that, without countervailing duties, the capitalists of Europe, having under their control a redundant population, whose poverty compels them to labor for barely a miserable subsistence, will inundate the country with the productions of their cheap labor, under-sell and crush our domestic manufactures, possess themselves of the better part of our trade and commerce, deprive our laboring population of employment, and our farmers of that best of all markets for their surplus produce, a market at their own doors. All this is true, for no one will pay $30 for a home manufactured coat, when he can obtain a like article, of foreign origin, for $15. None will pay $75 for Pennsylvania iron, when Swedish can be purchased for $50; or $5 for Lehigh and Schuylkill coal, when Liverpool and Pictou can be obtained for $3; and so on, through the whole catalogue of foreign productions that come in competition with our own. Wherefore, the thousands of laborers who depend on home manufactures for employment, must lose their employment, because the product of their labor will not sell, and failing in the means to purchase, must of necessity cease to consume the surplus products of agriculture, whence the farmer's home market is destroyed. The loss of the home market, impels him to vent his accumulated surplus on Europe, in a market already glutted, where he will realize less for the whole, than he might obtain for a small fraction of his surplus produce.

But while the advocates of protective duties clearly perceive and trace the disastrous consequences of *free trade*, while they have iterated and reiterated the necessity of protecting American labor against the competition of the *half starved pauper laborers of Europe*, they have most dishonestly managed to confine the protection *exclusively to capital* and to leave the working classes as much exposed to foreign competition, as they could be under perfect free trade. This has been effected by omitting foreign laborers in the list of dutiable articles. Evidently it is all one to the American people whether Dr. Benjamin Brandreth sends us twenty tons of pills, duty free, from his shop in Liverpool, or from his establishment at Sing Sing, so long as the pills are made by English laborers. Nor will the effect on American labor be changed by vesting the capital of the pill shop in an American manufacturer. The broadcloths of Lowell might as well be woven in Yorkshire so long as the Lowell Mills are operated by Yorkshire weavers, and the iron and coal of Pennsylvania be imported from England, Russia, and Sweden, so long as the Pennsylvania mines are wrought by foreign laborers. And so of all other productions that depend for their prosperity on the protection of a heavy duty on foreign articles of a like description. At least, this is true so far as all classes, except capitalists and farmers are concerned. The first of which, enjoy the

advantage of the cheap labor of Europe imported under a nominal duty, in addition to the extra price their goods command in the market, in consequence of the cost of the foreign article being augmented by a duty of 40 or 50 per cent. The second enjoy a better home market, in consequence of the transfer of foreign laborers from the mills of Europe to our own country.

Nevertheless, this seeming advantage supposed to be so valuable to the farmer, is more than counterbalanced by the disadvantages connected with a system that directly protects nothing but capital. The extra cost of the fabrics they consume, and the heavy poor taxes levied to support foreign paupers, and the farther taxes to defray the cost of convicting and maintaining foreign felons, together exceed the value of so much of the home market, as is due to the consumption by foreign laborers. *The interest of* RAIL ROAD CORPORATIONS, MANUFACTURERS and CAPITALISTS, *generally to reduce the wages of labor*, and of SHIP OWNERS to *procure live freights*, stimulates emigration *far* beyond the numbers employed by all the rail road corporations, manufacturers, ship owners, and capitalists in the union. Hence the aggregate surplus of agriculture is greatly increased, instead of being diminished by the introduction of foreign laborers. For the numbers who apply themselves to agricultural pursuits are much more than sufficient to supply the consumption of those who engage in other employments. The low price of grain and provisions in the Western States, where the greater number of foreigners settle, is an incontrovertible proof in support of the result deduced from the general law of supply and demand. Rail roads, canals, and steamboats, with unexampled rapidity, have opened communications from the West to the sea board, yet western produce is worth less than it commanded before these facilities were introduced. The direct effect of easy communication is to add value to the surplus products of the before secluded region. They have added value to the Western States, but the overflowing tide of emigration, like the lean kine of Egypt, (*but by a contrary process*,) has neutralized all the advantages, and gained an absolute loss to the western farmers, besides forcing hundreds of thousands of the young men of the Atlantic States from the homes of their childhood, to distant regions in quest of a livelihood.

But if the farming interest has suffered from the crowd of emigrants, they have also suffered in many other ways for the special advantage of the capitalists who pretend to seek only their prosperity. *To buy* CHEAP, *and sell* DEAR, *is the dictate of self interest.* Such of the raw materials employed in the arts as the farmers can produce were but miserably protected against foreign competition, by that glorious exemplification of cunning, the tariff of 1842. *The interest of the manufacturer required that raw material should be cheap.* Therefore the duty on the lowest grade of wool was fixed at three and a half mills per pound; but on the fabric made from wool of a like quality, it amounted to forty-five per cent. on the cost of the article. In silk, the manufacturer enjoyed four and a half times the per cent. of protection that was allowed to the silk grower. A disproportion so

great that it could have resulted only from a design to favor capital without any regard to the rights of the farmers or other laboring classes. Again, the duties on rail road iron to the amount of $6,000,000, have been remitted to rail road corporations, while no remission has been made on the iron implements of the husbandman, the artisan, and the laborer. Every horse-shoe, chain, cart-tire, plough-share, fork, shovel, hoe, and scythe, paid the duty in full. Why this distinction? Why remit the duty on iron in any case seeing it is a branch of American industry that, as much as any other, stands in need of protection? Why this gift of $6,000,000, to capitalists? why? Because but few, saving large capitalists, are interested in rail roads; therefore remission on rail road iron was equivalent to a gift of $6,000,000 among the RICH. It was in accordance with the spirit of the protective system, misnamed, American system. *The* FARMERS *are not* CAPITALISTS, *but simply* RESPECTABLE LABORERS. Therefore they paid their own share of the duty, and a large portion of the $6,000,000, beside. For the sum thus abated from the treasury of the United States, had to be made up again by continued taxation.

The mechanics, laborers, mill operatives, sempstresses and domestic servants, however, have suffered from the effect of emigrant competition much more than the farmers, because it is only the farmers' surplus produce that is affected by competition, whereas it operates on the entire means of living of the other laboring classes. The advocates of the tariff of 1842, and other tariffs of kindred principles, with unblushing effrontery, have rung the changes on the incidental protection that they averred was to ensue to the working classes, *in consequence of protecting* AMERICAN LABOR, *(as they term their spindles, looms, rolling mills, trip hammers, furnaces, rail roads, steamboats, ships, and other inanimate contrivances for the rapid and cheap performance of labor.)* They have stolen the merits of the working classes as the foundation of their arguments, and the basis of their petitions, and then perfidiously taken the reward to their own use.

Forsooth *they wish to encourage and reward American labor.* Yet never when it came to the act have they suggested measures *to protect anything but* CAPITAL. They have besieged committees of Congress,—hovered about them like familiar spirits, whispering in their ears that 30, 40, 50, 60, 100, or 200 per cent. duties on foreign fabrics were absolutely necessary to enable them to continue their operations *and pay $2 a day to their laborers,*—TO REWARD AMERICAN LABOR. *They have even bribed the most distinguished talent in the Union with a douceur of $6000 a year, to stifle the rising sympathies of Americanism in his bosom, and to record his name in the category of the disciple who sold the master he had voluntarily chosen, for certain pieces of silver.* But in no single instance have they permitted any, even the least protection to be enacted for the advantage of *that species of American labor that is performed by human agents, with skins untinctured with African blood.* INCIDENTAL PROTECTION to LABOR THROUGH PROTECTION to FABRICS, is a TRANSCENDENT HUMBUG, and none better understand it than those who have expatiated on its wonder working

powers, for the purpose of beguiling the people and making them accessory to their own ruin. *No woollen manufacturer believes it possible for his business to thrive on the* INCIDENTAL PROTECTION *flowing from prohibitive duties on foreign silks, and cotton fabrics. No iron master can be made to swallow the absurdity that the price of iron will rise to a profitable point through the direct protection of* 50 *or* 100 *per cent. on American cotton, woollen, leather, and glass fabrics, while iron is suffered to be imported subject to a duty of only one per cent. on the foreign cost.* Why then should any one suppose that when foreign laborers are suffered to enter the home labor market without restraint, *the protection of home made fabrics* should increase the demand *for native labor*, or *augment* the *pay?* The idea is preposterous, absurd, and almost too contemptible for serious refutation.

Yet facts are not wanting to verify the deceptive character of the doctrine of incidental protection. The argument is, that the wages of labor are strictly dependent on the amount of protection granted to domestic industry, (*by which its advocates mean home manufactures,*) and that the pay of the working classes rises or falls as manufactures flourish or decay. Now from 1839 to 1842, the manufacturers aver that their operations were conducted at a loss. But during the existence of the tariff of 1842, the large establishments have not only divided double the common rates of interest, but it is understood they have accumulated surplus profits sufficient to double their machinery. Or in other words, their profits have averaged thirty-five per cent. per annum, for the last four years. And therefore, if the doctrine of incidental protection be true, the operators in the mills would have received an advance in their wages of thirty-five per cent. on the price of 1839. Yet so far from paying higher wages to the operatives, the cotton manufacturers have enforced three several reductions, and attempted a fourth. It is true, an honorable gentleman *denies the reduction in* WORDS, *but indirectly confesses the fact.* We re-affirm a reduction on the testimony of a great number of operatives who have been in the mills four years and upwards, *and state distinctly that the prices now paid in the Lowell cotton mills, are less that at any period between* 1828 *and* 1842. Whereas they should be greater, in order to sustain the doctrine of incidental protection.

We might pursue the subject and show a like result to every class of laborers; but it is unnecessary, seeing that the doctrine fails with the immediate dependents of the protected class, where first of all its benignant influence should be felt. Even a tariff that works no change in the nominal pay of the laborer, if it materially augments the profits of capital, is a positive injury to every class of the community that depend wholly or in part on manual labor for their subsistence; because the accumulation of capital in few hands increases the drones of society, who wanton in luxuries for which "they neither toil nor spin." The history of England is pregnant of instruction showing the disastrous consequences of favoring by special legislation the accumulation of capital in a few hands, to an extent that the interest will support them without the auxiliary aid of manual labor. No other nation has so

steadily or so successfully protected its capitalists, and none but our own has been more unmindful of the interests of the working classes. The manufacturers of England have grown up in the hot-bed of protection, until they have made ENGLAND THE BANKER OF THE WORLD. Look at the millions loaned to the governments of continental Europe, the States of South America, and of the United States; the purchase of their possessions in all quarters of the earth; add to this their national debt of three and a half billions of dollars, all of which has been loaned to the government by capitalists, on a mortgage of the people; the whole together amounting to a total that no common mind can fully comprehend. Yet there is not a country beneath the sun that groans beneath so great a burden of human misery as England. Rich beyond all comparison, and miserable as rich — a tithe of the population dependent on work-house charity, and nine tenths of the remainder but a step removed from famine. There is no lack of capital for any undertaking, however vast, that holds out a reasonable prospect of three per cent. interest — there is no lack of means to subsist the whole population in comfort — to fill every stomach to the measure of healthy enjoyment. But a fiftieth part of the population, through the legerdemain of capital, monopolize half the annual fruits of industry, leaving the other half to be shared in unequal proportions among the forty-nine fiftieths whose labor produces the whole. This is the natural result of legislating with a single eye to the interests of capitalists. A continuance in our country of a system that widens the distinction between the capitalist and his operatives — that makes the latter the dependants of the former, although so imperceptible in its advances that no nominal reduction of wages shall be apparent, cannot fail in the end to establish the same grinding poverty on one hand, and luxurious idleness on the other, that make England the valley of the shadow of death, and the existence of a majority of the population not worth preserving.

It has been intimated that a reduction of wages is not necessarily apparent where an actual reduction has happened. The laboring man's daily pay, and the farmer's surplus bushel of potatoes or grain may amount to a greater number of pennies and yet possess a less remunerative power than the less number under former circumstances. Every process that tends to accumulate great capitals in few hands, confers on the holders a principle of multiplication and a power to grasp more and more of the fruits of the earth, until barely enough is left to the working classes to support a miserable existence. Thus in the reign of the seventh Henry, the wages of the common laborer were one penny a day; in the reign of Victoria, one shilling, or twelve hundred per cent. advance on the wages of the former period, yet owing to the inflation of the currency, the consolidation of the bulk of capital in comparatively few hands, and the excessive numbers who have no capital but their hands, *the shilling of the present day will procure but* FORTY-NINE HUNDREDTH PARTS *of the necessary articles of subsistence that* ONE PENNY *did in* HENRY'S *time.* Whence it is as certain as any demonstration in Euclid that while the wages of labor have apparently advanced twelve hundred per cent. they have in reality fallen sixty-one

per cent. From all which we draw the conclusion, that any tariff that adds to the profits of capital, without adding in an equal degree to the wages of labor, is more injurious to the mass of the people than a tariff that benefits neither capital nor labor, but preys with equal severity on both. The tariff of 1842 was confessedly beneficial to capital. It has been shown to have been barren of advantage to the working classes. *It has added capital to capital and* LOSS *to* LABOR. *It has created employment for thousands of working people*, and *introduced* TENS *of* THOUSANDS *of* FOREIGNERS *to perform the labor*. It has made the *rich* RICHER, and the *poor* still POORER. It gave direct, substantial, and tangible protection to capital. *To the working classes it gave the* EMPTY SHADOW *of* INCIDENTAL PROTECTION *and more than a* MILLION DESPERATE COMPETITORS *for the employment that of right belonged to them.* The new tariff, though equally destitute of direct protection for the working classes, *is indirectly advantageous to the extent that it withdraws protection from capital.* Had it gone further in that respect it would have been better. Had it left the protection for capital as it was, and added direct protection for American labor and American raw materials, it would have been *still* better. The equilibration of labor with capital is the great desideratum, and it is better that the scale of capital should be lightened, rather than that of labor should kick the beam. *Still better will it be when the government shall throw its protecting shield in the scale of* LABOR, *till it hangs in even balance with* CAPITAL.

From the observations already offered, it will be seen that we disapprove of the tariff of 1842, for the reason that its advantages inured exclusively to capital, and that while it imposed an unjust, because unequal tax on the working classes, it introduced, duty free, the very pauper labor of Europe, that its advocates pretended it was designed to prevent. Its operation has proved destructive to the interests of the farmer, the mechanics, and laborers, because, while it enabled capitalists, and especially manufacturers, to accumulate capital with unexampled rapidity, it supplied no check to the excessive competition of foreign laborers in every branch of the home labor market, in consequence of which, the surplus produce of the farmer, and the wages of the laboring classes have declined in value, thus increasing the disparity between the producers and non-producers. From all which, it is inferred, that the system is radically defective, and ought not to be re-adopted until amended so as to protect all classes equally alike, or if there be any discrimination, that it be in favor of labor.

The new ad valorem tariff abates protection chiefly from the heavy branches engaged in producing the common fabrics which are generally consumed by the most numerous and least wealthy classes. *It increases the duty on articles of luxury that are mostly consumed by the rich, and the protection on those fabrics which are mostly fashioned by* HAND LABOR. *In all of which respects it is an improvement on the tariff of* 1842, and therefore better entitled to the support of the people. Still it is by no means adapted to the circumstances of the American people. It may, truly, be characterized *as a bad tariff*, and THAT OF 1842 AS WORSE.

The effect of high duties on foreign productions is to increase the cost, and if carried far enough, to operate protectively; it nearly or quite excludes the foreign productions from our markets, thus giving the home producer the control of the market, and the ability to obtain remunerating prices. But the protection of one fabric imparts no protection to another of a different nature. The protection allowed the cotton manufacturer gives no aid to the manufacturer of woollens; neither do the high duties on foreign alcoholic liquors enable the boot and shoe manufacturer to bear up against the competition of the cheap labor of Europe; and much less does a general protection of domestic fabrics confer protection on the working population. It only removes the operatives from the foreign to the domestic workshop, and gives the profit of their labor to the native instead of the foreign capitalist. Protection extends not beyond the first recipients. It is neither negotiable nor transferable. It goes not beyond the fabrics similar to those on which the protective duty is levied, *and therefore if it be intended to* PROTECT AMERICAN LABORERS, *the protective duty must be levied on their* COMPETITORS, THE MIGRATORY LABORERS OF EUROPE. This is the only way except by *pains* and *penalties*. And until it is adopted, no scale of duties levied on foreign production, no disabilities of foreign manufacturer, ship-owner and capitalist, are worth the cost of a pin to the whole working population of the United States. *The incidental protection flowing to the operatives in the mills in consequence of the protection enjoyed by the owner of mills in which they labor, is as unsubstantial as the sustenance imparted to their bodies by* THE SHADOW OF ROAST BEEF, *or the sight of coin, which they can never touch. It is a gilded phantom that eludes possession, and repays credulity only by promises that are never performed. It is the* FANCY *treasure of a* DREAM *that vanishes without leaving a trace of its existence.*

It will, however, be alleged, that want of employment and distress ensue, whenever a panic or financial revulsion imposes a check on manufacturing activity, and that the distress passes away, when manufacturers recover their wonted vigor. The change, and the full bitterness of poverty that follows, is admitted. But the inference usually drawn from it is confounded. It is the nature of capitalists, to indulge the genius of avarice; to make haste to be richer; to be satisfied with no per centage of profit, if by any means whatever it may be increased; and following this instinct, they extend their operations too far and too fast for the natural demand. When there is a demand for their fabrics, they urge their machinery to the utmost, and not unfrequently employ double sets of hands, working night and day, and, by so doing, overstock the market. Then comes a shock; prices fall, and a reduction of wages, or a cessation of production, becomes necessary; and both are closely connected. In this case, a small number of minds direct the labors of thousands, in a common employment. All start together in the race for money; all feel the shock, at the same moment, and resort to the same means to keep what they have got, and get what they can. Even in prosperous times, the wages of the operatives are so small, as to prevent those who have families, or who are visited with

sickness, from laying up any thing for a future day. Thus situated, a few weeks' want of employment, loads them with debts, and when work is again to be had, the children are turned into the mills, to assist in removing the previous burden. And this inevitably induces a further reduction of wages, so that, in a short period, the joint wages of the parents and children, are less than the amount earned by the parents alone, before the competition of the children was added to the general power of the master minds. Moreover, the season of activity invites emigration. The great profits of such seasons, leads to founding new establishments, to projecting rail roads and other improvements, and these, in turn, solicit emigration with still greater earnestness, with the direct object of constructing them at the least possible cost. All these operations are carried on at one and the same time. No wonder, then, that when the foundation is shaken, by overdoing, or by government folly, — when so many are thrown out of employment, — that distress should ensue. *It is not because manufactures have been arrested, but because too many have been drawn from other pursuits,* AND FROM FOREIGN LANDS, *and employed in a series of undertakings, that all* FLOURISH, OR HALT TOGETHER. IT IS BECAUSE TOO MUCH HAS BEEN DONE. It is because the laboring instruments have been at first persuaded to overtask themselves, and afterwards compelled to do it, under penalty of dismission, that the capitalists of $100,000, may the sooner acquire $1,000,000. *The system begets the distress that occurs at intervals,* and the *distress adds new* PROCREATIVE POWERS *to the* CAPITALIST, *both to enrich himself, and to grind his dependants.* In fact, capital flourishes most amid the deepest distress of the people. Its roots, watered by the tears of poverty, like the far reaching legs of a cancer, penetrate every ramification of the social body, tugging at the well-springs of the people's life, and drying up the sources of virtue, until elegant and idle licentiousness, on one hand, and beastly vices, born of suffering, on the other, dissolve the cement of society, and bury the oppressor and the oppressed in undistinguished ruin.

When the government lends its aid to the schemes of the rich, *the rich will take care of the poor, as the* WOLVES *do of the* FLOCKS; with the exception, that the premonitory howl, uttered by one, will be represented, in the other case, by the bland tones of commiseration. *Give us protection for American labor; protect our own citizens against the half starved pauper laborers of Europe,* we pray you, has been the burden of the petitions to Congress, proffered by *our manufacturers* and *capitalists.* And when Congress has called on them to state the ways and means to do it, they have answered, Levy 95 per cent. on cotton goods; 45 per cent. on woollens, and 5 per cent. on wool; 73 to 168 per cent. on iron fabrics, but pass another bill to take it off from rail road iron. Demand 120 per cent. on cordage, and 39 per cent. on hemp; diamonds and gems 7 per cent., and on salt 76 per cent.; GENTLEMEN'S *real French buck gloves* 13 per cent.!!! WAGGONERS' and REAPERS' *yellow sheep skin gloves* (such as bricklayers wear) 90 *per cent.!!!!* a small duty on wines and luxuries, and a heavy duty on all articles of common use. But *never,* NEVER *have they suggested a*

CAPITATION *tax on* EMIGRANTS. Not they! *Our land is the land of the free, and an asylum for the oppressed. The exiles from Europe build our* RAIL ROADS, FOR HALF THE MONEY *they* WOULD COST *us, if we were* DEBARRED THEIR *valuable services. Our* COAL *and* IRON MINES *are worked at* HALF *price by* FOREIGNERS! *Our* AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE *is made so cheap, by the* THOUSANDS *of* EUROPEANS, *who come to the aid of our farmers, that in years of great scarcity, we can export a few hundred thousand dollars worth to Europe, and our* SHIPS, *at least, make something out of the freight! Our* MECHANICS *are better paid, than in any part of the world,* AND IF NOT KEPT DOWN, BY COMPETITION WITH THE THOUSANDS WHO ANNUALLY ARRIVE FROM EUROPE, *will soon think themselves as good as* BANKERS, MERCHANTS, MANUFACTURERS, *and* RAIL ROAD CORPORATORS. COMPETITION IS THE LIFE AND SOUL OF TRADE! (*saving only where large capitals are invested.*) *What would our* MERCHANTS *do for seamen, if two-thirds of the* MEN *who man their* SHIPS, *were not drawn from the old world?* WAGES *would be* DOUBLE *the rates we now pay; and, moreover, we should be under the necessity of treating them more like human beings, than is now necessary. And then the* PASSAGE MONEY, *received by our ship-owners, is not less than* $1,000,000 *a year!* It is true they cost our almshouses four times that sum! *but then the reduction in the price of labor generally, in consequence of the competition that ensues in the labor market,* IS NOT LESS *in the* AGGREGATE *than* $30,000,000; *a saving too large to be cast away, for the share of the poor taxes that fall on us.* IN A WORD, LABOR IS YET TOO DEAR, *and free emigration presents the only chance to make it cheaper.*

If it be my bull that has gored your ox, the case is altered in the judgment of the hypocrites who plead for machinery and CAPITAL *under the name of* AMERICAN LABOR. In the twinkling of an eye they repudiate countervailing duties, when it is proposed to protect American laborers by an extension of the principle they acknowledge so appropos for American labor in the sense *they* enunciate the terms. They tell us this is a land of liberty, (*nathless the* 3,000,000 *slaves in it*;) that all mankind are entitled to equal rights in it, (*winking out of sight the* 33 *per cent. they impose on the poor cobbler of Europe for leave to sell his boots and shoes in the asylum of the oppressed, to obtain bread for his half starved children,*) and the same privileges that we enjoy, (*with a mental reservation of* 95 *per cent. duties on the cotton fabrics wrought by the miserable operatives of Europe, to pay for the potatoes on which they subsist.*) With tones of well dissembled commiseration, they deprecate the unchristian spirit that seeks to shut our doors on the poor, oppressed, down-trodden people of Europe, who flee from the thraldom of despotism, (*to work in our docks and on our rail roads for* 48 *to* 80 *cents a day, thereby obliging Americans to work for the same,*) bringing from the bogs of Ireland the muscle and stamina to improve the American BREED, (*so that they may be content to pay rint and luxuriate on potatoes when in work, and on water when out of it,*) and to infuse the better republicanism into our institutions, that hereditary submission to tyranny inspires, (*to the end that*

competition may bring down the price of labor to a shilling a day.) Let them come and enjoy equal privileges with our children; we have land enough for all, (*the more husbandmen the less the price of wool and grain, and the greater the market for our fabrics.*) How else shall we settle the great West, (*or realize* 100 *per cent. profits on our land speculations,*) or extend the area of freedom, (*to serve American instead of European masters,*) or assert the natural rights of man, (*to work as cheaply for American capitalists as they have been accustomed to do for the wealthy aristocrats of Europe?*) Heaven forbid that we should tax flesh and blood! (*if we do tax the strength of the factory girls to the utmost.*) It is monstrous, (*and equivalent to* 10 *per cent. reduction on the tariff,*) horrible, (*against our interest,*) and without a parallel, (*except it be admitted that an average tax of* 60 *per cent. on European fabrics operates as severely on the poor operatives of Europe as would a capitation tax of* $250 *on the same operatives when landed on our shores. The first enriches capitalists and degrades labor, the last would elevate labor and diminish the profits of capital, — a consummation not to be endured.*)

Some may suppose the foregoing portrait of the spirit that animates the capitalists, too severe. The *originals*, however, *know* that it does them no injustice, and that instead of being overcolored the shadows are fainter than the copy would warrant. Equally secretive and acquisitive in all the relations of life, dissimulation is the language they employ, and money the god of their idolatry. Of course this should be understood of the class as a class. Doubtless there are honorable exceptions, but these are so few in number that their virtues appear chiefly by contrast, and are powerless to modify the rigor of the master passion that pervades and governs the class. Too selfish to be just, and too cowardly to give warning of the blows they meditate, they generally circumvent the people by plausible but deceptive appeals, acquire exclusive privileges by stratagem, and maintain their ill-gotten power with a dogged perseverance, and a fertility of invention that no rebuffs can discourage. The tenacity with which they persist in asserting the exploded doctrine of *incidental protection* to labor, from *protection to manufactures*, is sufficient proof of their constancy in maintaining a falsehood to the last extremity. Their contempt of the king's English and common sense, *in baptizing inanimate machinery by the name of* AMERICAN LABOR, (*par excellence, by fair inference from the usual connection,*) is ample evidence of their profound and systematic dissimulation. And these attributes, so hostile to the welfare of the bulk of the people, render them unsafe representatives of any class but their own. *Their interest* is *not the* INTEREST of the COMMON PEOPLE. It is an ANTAGONISTICAL-INTEREST. *They will always, as they always have done, legislate with a single eye to the advantage of capital, and in derogation of the interests of the laboring classes.* Wherefore the latter should entrust the power of making laws only to men having a common interest with themselves, and pledged to their support.

If protective duties are just and proper for one class, (*for instance, for woollen manufacturers and sugar planters,*) they are just and

proper for all. It has been shown that they have no beneficial operation beyond the species of production of like nature with that on which the duties are levied. The duty on foreign sugar protects the sugar planters, but affords no aid to the manufacturer of broadcloth. Therefore if cotton, silk, woollen, leather, glass and iron manufactures enjoy the benefit of greater or less duties imposed on similar imported manufactures, *the* RAW MATERIALS *used in these branches ought to enjoy a like* PROTECTION *against* FOREIGN COMPETITION. SO TOO OUGHT ALL OTHER BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY. *And last but not least,* AMERICAN LABORERS *of every name, from the* FARMER *down to the chimney sweep,* MALE *and* FEMALE, *should enjoy an equivalent* PROTECTION *by direct* IMPOSTS *on imported* FOREIGNERS. That is to say, *by a* CAPITATION TAX, *that will free the home* LABOR MARKET *of* FOREIGN COMPETITORS *to a like extent that imposts on* FOREIGN FABRICS *clear the home market of* FOREIGN FABRICS. The principle is the same in all cases. The duty on the foreign product and on foreign laborers, augments the market price of both, and if carried far enough, amounts to prohibition; in which case the American manufacturers and American laborers have the home market to themselves, and consequently obtain more employment and better prices than they can in the face of foreign competition. Any lesser amount of protection is so far advantageous as it augments the price of the foreign article or person, and no farther.

Since the alarm of foreign intrusion has been sounded our government has studiously concealed the number of arriving emigrants. Yet it is known that 25,000 have landed at Boston during the last six months, and probably 6,000 more have come in by the Eastern Rail Road. *For this corporation is understood to bring them on from Portland for* FIFTY CENTS A HEAD, *although they charge* $3 *for* AMERICANS. More than 100,000 have landed at the port of New York, and probably, (*for we have no accurate accounts,*) as many more have entered at New Orleans. Philadelphia and Baltimore are largely engaged in multiplying our population by the same unnatural means. Probably both places together have received an accession of 50,000, making 281,000, which before the close of the season will be augmented to 325,000, who have entered by the sea board. On the Canada frontiers we know not what numbers join us. It cannot be less than 150,000, and may amount to 200,000. Thus on the most moderate computation, 475,000 foreign competitors have been and will be forced into the labor market during the present year. *It is a dead weight on the laboring classes, that in any other country would lead to* REVOLT *and* CIVIL WAR; AND SO IT SHOULD WITH US, *were it not for the* BALLOT BOX, *which offers an easier and safer remedy,* if it shall be seasonably improved.

In this connection it seems proper to state the average cost to the public, of all the emigrants who arrive. From the pauper abstract of the commonwealth for 1845, it appears the whole number of paupers was 14,161, with the additions due to a few towns that made no report. And of this number 3582 were foreigners. Therefore, of the whole taxes levied for the support of paupers, $\frac{3582}{14161}$ *was on account of* FOR-

EIGN PAUPERS *who come in under the facilities for emigration that both the tariffs of* 1842 *and* 1846, *allow!* The cost of supporting foreign paupers is not stated in the abstract, but by means of the ratio which the foreign paupers bear to the whole number, the cost of the foreign portion can be determined, provided the cost of the whole is known. The abstract is very defective in this item, for many towns have reported considerable numbers of paupers, and omitted to state the cost. A still larger number report State and foreign paupers without showing the receipt of the State compensation. Hence the entire cost of paupers given in the abstract, and the payments from, or claims on the State treasury for State paupers is below the truth, and consequently, the sum deduced by proportion is less than the true sum. The total sum reported as expended in support of paupers is $301,360.47, and this multiplied by the ratio $\frac{3582}{14161}$, *gives* $76,244.19, *for the cost of supporting the* FOREIGN PAUPERS. Now this sum is as much a tax on the people at large for the protection of capitalists as additional duties on foreign fabrics that would produce an equal sum, would be. It is a constituent element of emigration, and, emigration being advantageous to capitalists, (pecuniary and political capitalists,) because of its effect to reduce the price of labor, and to supply the floating suffrage capital, whatever is paid by reason of emigration, is a tax on the community for their especial benefit.

The cost of apprehending and convicting foreign felons is another serious draft on the people, and grows out of the same cause as the pauper tax. We have no sufficient data to determine the amount, but shall hazard but little in fixing it as high as $25,000. Thus emigration cost the commonwealth over $100,000 in 1845. And as emigration has nearly trebled the present year, and as pauperism and crime must necessarily increase in a greater ratio than the increase of emigration, the cost of foreign paupers and foreign felons, in 1846, cannot be less than quadruple the cost in 1845, or over $400,000, or more than half of the cost of the pauper establishment for the year, and more than the entire cost for 1845.

But the number of emigrants arriving in 1845, was not far from 10,000, and the cost of foreigners to the commonwealth, $100,000, whence it is clear the average cost of each emigrant was $10. *Now the* 10,000 *paid about* $18,000, CAPITATION TAX. And probably the ship owners (ENOCH TRAIN *and others*) realized a profit of a like sum out of the passage money, leaving a balance of loss exceeding $64, 000. This is a dear way of building up the fortunes of ENOCH TRAIN & Co., yet were it all, it might be borne without complaint. *The diminution of the value of labor, in consequence of the competition of the emigrants who do not resort to the alms-house, is twenty fold more oppressive than the taxes to support those who do.*

What then is the remedy? Will the FARMERS, the MECHANICS *and the numerous classes that depend on* MANUAL LABOR *for a subsistence,*— will these classes continue to be *shuttl-ecocks* bandied between WHIG and DEMOCRATIC BATTLE-DOORS, sometimes impelled in favor of a tariff on the principle of that of 1842, and then towards free trade as far as the necessities of the Government will permit? *Or will they play a*

separate game, with their own interest for the LEADING OBJECT? Having been the dupes and tools of *capitalists* and *demagogues* for the last thirty years, *it is time to turn the tables and to* SINK THE FORMER *to their just level,* BY IMPOSING A PROHIBITIVE DUTY ON FUTURE EMIGRANTS, *and such imposts on* FOREIGN MATERIALS, *as shall enable the* OWNERS *of the* SOIL *to obtain a* REMUNERATING PRICE *for their surplus produce.* To work a change of domestic policy, it is necessary to abandon the old party organizations. Both are committed to the principles and practices that have heretofore prevailed. Both are absolutely controlled by small cliques, and neither possess sufficient honesty to hazard a year's defeat of the party, though convinced the salvation of the country depended upon it. Obstinately wedded, the one to protection, for the sake of protection, (*meaning for capital, and not labor,*) and the other to no protection for either capital or labor; nursed in dissimulation till the language of their tongues has ceased to be an index of the purposes they entertain, and too cowardly to brave the indignation of the foreign legions (of *voters, legal and illegal*) already among us,—there is nothing to be hoped from them, nothing to be gained by a longer adherence to their fortunes. The change, if any change (except from bad to worse) shall come, *must be wrought by a new* ORGANIZATION, *from which the* LEADING SPIRITS *of* BOTH *the* OLD PARTIES *shall be excluded.* It must come from men who do not fear boldly to proclaim the leading measures of reform that are required to meet our peculiar circumstances, *and who will not hesitate to sacrifice the faction of capitalists, root and branch, if they stand even indirectly in the way of a capitation tax of at least* $250, *on future emigrants, including as high duties on imported* RAW MATERIALS, *as on* IMPORTED FABRICS. THE ISSUE OF THE TARIFF OF 1842 *vs.* THE TARIFF OF 1846, *should be left to whom it concerns.* NINETEEN-TWENTIETHS OF THE PEOPLE HAVE NO MORE INTEREST IN THE TRIUMPH OF EITHER OF THE PARTIES TO SUCH AN ISSUE, THAN THEY HAVE IN THE DOMESTIC POLICY OF JAPAN, OR INDEPENDENT TARTARY. *It is their interest to make an issue with both,* and having made it, to persevere until strong enough by the *balance power* to compel the dominant party, whichever it may be, *to annex the capitation tax and other remedial measures* to their policy for better or for worse, as the future may determine.

Moreover, in order to succeed with a new organization, it is necessary that no leading spirit of either of the old parties should be permitted any influence whatever. The treachery of those distinguished leaders!!! who not long since sought to place themselves at the head of the NATIVE AMERICAN PARTY, is matter of history. The truth is, they sought to lead the new party with intent to make it an auxiliary of the old Whig party, and not with an intention of carrying out the reforms advocated by the Native American Party. Desperate from the defeat of HENRY CLAY, and fancying the originators of the new party as redolent of dissimulation as themselves, they eagerly seized the occasion to make a breach in the ranks of their adversaries, and fondly hoped to draw the seceders within the vortex of Whig delusions. Fortunately for the people, the seceders intended the thing they pro-

posed — *to deliver the country from foreign influence*, and were proof against the seductive wiles of the Whig stool pigeons. They were honest, and could have no fellowship with hypocrisy. The Whig leaders have now thrown off the mask, and are bending all their faculties and resources to secure the PAPAL PARTY to their interest, and with fair prospect of success, for this party is always in the market, at the service of the highest bidder. The price this year is consent to the decree of the papal bishops, that the children of popish parents shall be separated from the common schools, with a partition of the school fund hereafter; or in other words, *a transfer of one of the* HIGHEST PREROGATIVES *of* CIVIL AUTHORITY *to a* FOREIGN SPIRITUAL POWER. Whether they will be able to pay the stipulated reward is doubtful, since most of the country members of the popular branch will be ignorant of the compact, and too honest to barter the civil power, and the religious and moral interests of the people, for party supremacy, obtained by mercenary aid. Failing to perform the stipulation, the party will be worse off than they could be under the most overwhelming defeat. There is, therefore, the strongest inducement for the new party to persevere — to extend their organization to every town — to disseminate their principles — and to nail to the mast the banner of the Union, emblazoned with the motto, A CAPITATION TAX OF $250 *on future emigrants, for the* PROTECTION *of* AMERICAN LABOR, OR NO PROTECTION FOR CAPITAL.

Let not the working classes for a moment suppose themselves incompetent to discharge the duty of legislators. The necessity will develope the ability. They must do their own work, without leaning on the leading men of other parties, or it will be either ill done or not done at all. The will to obtain their rights will teach them the appropriate means. They should withdraw their support from the old political parties, and run an AMERICAN *ticket* in every town, even if there be but one individual to support it, for that one vote may defeat one or other of the old parties. Every town thus left unrepresented is more than half won to the side of the *American combination*, and a total of 16,000 votes this year is enough to secure the vote of the commonwealth at the next Presidential election in favor of a CAPITATION TAX, and in favor of adequate protection for the raw materials used in manufactures. We have a capital of rising 8,000 from last year to begin with, and the certainty of an immense, foreign pauper tax, together with the jealousy that our working population must feel in consequence of the unprecedented influx of foreign laborers to aid us. Protestants of every sect cannot be indifferent to the alarming strides of popery. The friends of civil and religious liberty will not consent that a foreign potentate, and that potentate a despot of the worst kind, shall control popular education — banish the Bible from the schools — expurgate historical truths from our school-books, and substitute the *theology of* DENS, and the obscenity of the "*Ritual Formulario de curas para adminestrar los Sacramentos*," for the moral lessons hitherto inculcated. All these will coalesce under the banner of patriotism, and demand a capitation tax, to the end that the career of popery may be arrested, and American labor protected. The CAPITALISTS and *demagogue politicians* alone will adhere to our country's foes.

APPENDIX.

To pursuade a nation to abandon a long established policy, it is necessary to convince the judgment, and to enlist the sympathies of the people in favor of the proposed change. The foregoing pages treat only of the pecuniary effect of emigration in making the RICH RICHER, *and the* POOR *still* POORER, and of the injustice of a tariff like that of 1842, that protected nothing but capital, and indirectly led to a severer competition in the labor market than could possibly result under a steady free trade system. The remedy proposed to the American people for their adoption, is a capitation tax not less than $250 on future emigrants, with suitable penalties to prevent evasion of the law. It is not intended to depreciate the general doctrine of protection, but only that abuse which, under the false pretence of protecting American labor, aimed at nothing less than the subjugation of the working classes to a monied oligarchy, by granting to capitalists a monopoly of those branches of industry in which machinery is extensively employed, and permitting them at the same time, to transfer the pauper laborers of Europe to our country, and so to overstock every department of manual labor that, while manufacturers have realized from 30 to 50 per cent. annual profits, the wages of labor and of agricultural produce, have slowly but steadily receded. The object is to show cause for a general combination of farmers, mechanics, and laborers of every description, for the protection of their own interests which, thus far, under the guardianship of capitalists and trading political demagogues, have been shamefully neglected. The subject of a tariff, has been selected for the burden of the appeal, because the facts connected with it are generally known, and the subject is level to the humblest capacity; while the higher argument that nurses devotion to republican institutions, and that should inspire every American with an indomitable purpose to guard our civil and religious liberties against the avalanche of Popery that emigration precipitates upon our shores,— requires a fund of historical knowledge, and a patient investigation, that but few whose lives are consumed by daily and unreasonably protracted toil, can command. The same remedy by a capitation tax, that will protect American labor, will also erect an impregnable barrier to the further ingress of the Roman soldiery, and shut out from our beloved country those bloody scourges of mankind,—the consecrated fiends who spread corruption and desolation in the name and by the authority of their Lord God, the Pope, wherever they are permitted to plant their symbols of idolatry.

Popery is unmitigated temporal and spiritual despotism. It exacts unqualified obedience to its mandates, and proclaims its head possessed of sovereign power to change sin to holiness, and to dispense with the laws of nature, and of the Apostles. It asserts a divine commission to abrogate all laws, both divine and human, to pluck up and destroy kingdoms and states, and to plant and build up others at pleasure, — and release the obligation of oaths, — and to sanctify perjury and persecution.

The priests and religious orders, as they are misnamed, bind themselves to undeviating chastity; even the holy connection of marriage they pretend to esteem incompatible with the purity required of the consecrated orders; yet no class wearing the human form indulge to a like extent in lechery. The Institutes or Theology taught in their seminaries, to the young candidates for the priesthood, allows the sacred functionary to solicit and accomplish two seductions a month without incurring censure, and without the necessity of confessing and obtaining absolution; while by submitting to confession for the overplus, there is no limit but physical exhaustion, to his indulgence in carnal pleasures. Thus one of their sacraments, to which every female must submit at least once a year, becomes a school for unbounded licentiousness, which gradually effaces the sanctity of marriage, and overcomes the natural pudicity of female innocence, by ransacking their hearts in pursuit of the lascivious impulses they would cause to take root and flourish. Not even abandoned prostitutes could listen, for the first time, to the questions propounded in the confessional, as prescribed in DENS' THEOLOGY, *with the approbation of the Pope, and in the* RITUAL FORMULARIO DE CURAS PARA ADMINISTRAR LOS SACRAMENTOS, &c., without a struggle to unfurl the crimson banner of modesty on their haggard cheeks. In that accursed tribunal the wife must hear and answer questions which, whether guilty or innocent, should forever divorce her from her husband's bed; and the blushing bride, on the eve of her marriage, undergo a catechism which she would not for her life disclose to her husband. All this is peculiar to popery; and so far as the motive can be inferred from the tendency of the rite, it is done chiefly for the purpose of subduing every female in the flock to the lust of their spiritual guides. This abominable system, so far transcending the sins of Sodom in enormity, is rapidly progressing in strength, and in a few years will control the physical if not the legal power of the Union, unless the prolific source of its increase, — emigration, — shall be brought to an end.

Popery claims to be infallible, and however Protestants may lay the flattering unction to their souls, that it is changed from what it was in the dark ages that preceded the Reformation, when the church waded in the blood of 68,000,000 of the human race, — Papists themselves, with all their love of falsehood, will not admit any departure from the ancient spirit of the church. The late T. J. O. Flaherty, Catholic Priest at Salem, in the preface to his translation of Letters on the Spanish Inquisition, in order to satisfy the American people that the INQUISITION *was not the raw head and bloody bones that had been rep-*

resented, thus sketches the features of the holy tribunal. "In Spain, as in all other Catholic countries, a man may entertain whatever religious opinions he likes, however opposed to the aged and uniform religion of the land. *But he must keep them to himself, for the moment he begins to dogmatize and to preach up his religious experience, and thereby endeavor to shake the* CIVIL LAWS *that rise out of the foundation of the true faith and religion of the country*, A RELIGION WHICH IS THE OFFSPRING OF HEAVEN, AND OF COURSE INCAPABLE OF BEING REFORMED, *he is brought before the tribunal* [to wit, the Inquisition] *and suffers !!!* DEATH !!!" This is Popery so late as 1842. A man in a Catholic country may cherish whatever religious opinions he likes, provided he keeps them to himself — locks the secret within the solitary chamber of his own breast, and permits no scintillation of the light within to flash its life-giving rays athwart the dark horizon of ignorance, superstition, and moral debasement, that hovers over the empire of papal supremacy, like the thick smoke that rises from the bottomless pit. A man may believe what he pleases; so might the slaughtered millions of Albigenses and other martyrs, whose blood fertilized the soil of Europe during the period of a thousand years, have believed what they pleased, if the free spirit of Protestantism could have believed under the constraint of the lockjaw. So too, when Popery shall have collected its foreign legions in our land, the children of the Pilgrims may believe whatever religious tenets they choose to adopt — but under the ban of perpetual silence! Would their fathers have submitted to such an emasculation of religious liberty? Not they! for they made the leafless woods of Plymouth vocal with hymns of lofty cheer, in a tongue forbidden by the Beast; and wrestled with the God of heaven in audible orisons that the golden chalice filled by the Mother of Abominations, might not be poured on the sanctuary they had braved the ocean to obtain.

It is a maxim of Popery, that ignorance is the mother of devotion. During the present year the Pope has ordered his subordinates, the bishops, to attack the civil power of the United States in one of their highest prerogatives, — the control and supervision of popular education. And in conformity thereto, the bishops, at their recent conclave in Baltimore, resolved to withdraw the children of their flocks from the public schools. Massachusetts has long maintained the doctrine, that the diffusion of moral and intellectual knowledge was the most efficient and cheapest method of maintaining the public peace and of protecting property; and on this ground she has justified a pro rata tax on property for the support of schools, without any regard to the fact whether the heavy tax payer had children to be educated or not. All the machinery of the schools is subordinate to, and governed by the supervising power of the Legislature. Laws have been made to enforce the attendance of children. In fact every law on the statute book relating to the schools, recognizes the Legislature as the supreme guardian of popular education. The Pope's satellites now publish their intention to divest the Legislature of their control over a large portion of their charge. Will the people submit to this invasion of the Constitu-

tion? Will they passively suffer this bold attack on the sovereignty of the State to be consummated? They will!—unless the patriotism and prudent forecast of the working classes shall lead them to unite, and to hurl from power the present dominant party of the State. It is unnecessary to anticipate what their adversaries, the Democratic leaders, would do, should they succeed to the power of the Whigs, because their chance, with or without foreign aid, is hopeless. Their base abandonment of the right of petition, and equally base truckling to Southern dictation in the annexation of Texas to the Union, have made a breach in their ranks that twenty years of consistent conduct cannot repair. There was too much sterling honesty in the rank and file to endorse the dishonest measures of their leaders. The signs of the times portend a coalition between the Whig wire pullers and the Popish prelates, by which the foreign vote will be given for the party; in consideration of leave silently to withdraw the Catholic children from the schools. Next year a partition of the school fund will be demanded, and placed under the control of the Popish priesthood, and ultimately they will have the whole, if the project be not nipped in the bud by subjecting the parents who withdraw their children from the schools to salutary penalties.

The watchmen on the walls are asleep, or are employed in contending with shadows, while the enemy is pouring his columns through the gates of the citadel. Some are even pandering to the implacable foes of their people; and who that knows Harvard University as the fount of Unitarianism, and its head, as a deep politician, in the interest of the aristocracy, can doubt the influence that prompts the act? The Christian World, one of the organs of the Unitarian body of Christians, condescends to solicit pecuniary aid, for the erection of temples devoted to Roman idolatry. It carols paeans to Monkery, and surreptitiously inculcates the opinion, that Popery is more sinned against than sinning. In fine, that we have nothing to fear from Popish influence, if the bigoted Orthodox would only let them alone. So the Jesuit Pusey, of Oxford, commenced the schism, which has eventuated in more than half restoring the Episcopal church to the bosom of Mother Rome. With the exception of auricular confession, and the acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy over Victoria, little remains to perfect the reconciliation. And even in our country, the foul abandonment of principle is rapidly progressing. Trinity church, in New York, has already mounted the symbol of Catholicity on its spire; and recently another church has been commenced, with its entire body in the form of a cross. These outward shows are significant of the leaven of Popery within, and should excite unmingled abhorrence for the apostates from religious liberty, and a united purpose to cut off the ingress of their foreign allies. That same symbol of the cross, has ever been the harbinger of blood; and yet the people of New York, who would arm to the teeth, were the British flag displayed on the City Hall, look with indifference on the golden sign, that tells of dallianee with the mother of Harlots. Alas! Nothing but immediate union for self-preservation, can save us from the all devouring jaws of foreign influ-

ence. To the rescue, then, Americans! BE A CAPITATION TAX OR NO PROTECTION FOR CAPITAL. [illegible] the condition, is more a friend to his private interest, than to the public welfare, and deserves not your confidence or your suffrages.

Yet it becomes us never to despair of the republic. The rapid spread of Native American principles, and especially the enthusiasm with which the proposal of a capitation tax has been hailed; reveals the cheering fact, that the spirit of patriotism still survives; and that the American people are as restive, under the burden of their European invaders, as their fathers were under the manacles of the British crown. Deaf to the appeal for a change in the terms of the naturalization laws, because it did not go far enough to remedy the evil, the stronger measure of a capitation tax, was no sooner named, than adopted by spontaneous acclamation. And with that measure for the leading object, the Native American party has gained more solid strength in six months, than during the previous period of its existence, because it brings home to the working classes, — to the bone and muscle of the country, the cheering prospect of relief from the interference of European laborers, and of deliverance from the threatened domination of Popery. The poor seamstress, whose sixteen hours of toil is remunerated with a beggarly shilling, — and the factory girl, whose young blood is paralyzed by thirteen hours' incessant toil, amid the din of spindles and looms, — perceive in the movement of the Native American party, their only chance of relief from their merciless task-masters, and of preventing that expatriation of the other sex, which deprives some 20,000 in Massachusetts, of the protectors that Heaven designed for them; but whom the avarice of capitalists, and the pressure of foreign competition here, in our native land, have forced to distant regions, in quest of a livelihood, before attaining the age at which life attachments are usually formed. The multiplication of American con-fraternities, for the defence of American liberties and the birthright of the natives of the soil, is full of promise. The enthusiastic devotion of the Shifflers and Hammets to the holy cause, in which their patronymics lost their lives, while defending the flag of the Union against the assaults of Jesuit legions, in Philadelphia, is an omen of ultimate triumph. True descendants of the sons of liberty, they constitute a phalanx that no danger can appal! To the memory of the gallant dead, whose names they bear, we dedicate an humble wreath, — trusting that the silver voices of our fair countrywomen will add fragance to the boquet, and, with the melody of music, enshrine the youthful heroes in the hearts of the rising generation; as an example, to imprint on their tender minds the patriotic lesson, — that it is better to die in defence of liberty, than to survive its loss.

THE SHIFFLER HYMN.

To the Flag of the Union.

Our country's glorious flag unfurled,
Again we spread before the world,
Defying papal slaves
Led on by Jesuit knaves,
To rend or strike it from the mast;
Once torn by aliens still it flies,
And longer yet shall grace the skies,
Even till ocean's shore
Resounds his voice no more
In echo to the northern blast.

'T is consecrated by the blood
Of patriots, shed on field and flood,
When fell our native gem
From England's diadem
To light the torch of liberty.
'T is hallowed by the crimson tide
That flowed from Shiffler's bleeding side,
When reeling from the fray
He bore the flag away
Beneath its tattered folds to die.

Baptized in Hammet's blood, and red
With the life current of the dead,
Immortal spirits guard it,
From foreign foes to ward it;
As angels guard the gate of Heav'n,
Incensed with gore, a flaming brand
Resistless guards our Native Land,
And marshals on the war
To hurl the Jesuits far,
As Lucifer, from bliss was driven.

Ye glorious dead, we kneeling swear
No foreign yoke our necks shall wear;
Come when the struggle may,
We'll hail with joy the day
That makes atonement to your manes;

Rolls back the blasting foreign tide,
Whose locust swarms our bread divide,
And frees our happy home
From all the wiles of Rome,
And levels all her idol fanes.

Then shall melodious anthems rise
To heav'n a bloodless sacrifice,
From grateful hearts that own
No sacredotal throne,
No Ruler but the people's choice;
So Israel's tribes the red sea o'er
Saw Egypt's legions on the shore,
A prey to vultures given,
The pledge of bondage riven,
And woke to song the timbrel's voice.

Then shall our glorious banner wave,
The pride of the land of the brave;
The sailors' home shall bear it,
And festal halls shall wear it,
When thronged with beauty's glad array;
In choral songs, by every tongue,
Shall Hammet's, Shiffler's names be sung,
And youths and maidens join,
In harmony divine,
To celebrate the martyrs' day.

For the purpose of reference to the opinions of distinguished Americans, as well as for an index to the feelings and opinion of foreigners, distinguished for their intelligence; and of other foreigners, equally distinguished for their proficiency in Billingsgate erudition, we subjoin the following extracts from an address of the delegates of the Native American National Convention, assembled at Philadelphia, July 4th, 1845, to the citizens of the United States:

Whether successful or not, succeeding generations shall know that we understand our rights and liberties, and were neither afraid nor ashamed to assert and maintain them; and we ourselves may have at least this consolation in our chains, that it was not through our neglect that this people were enslaved. — *Instructions of the people of Lexington to their Representatives at Boston*, 1775.

Against the insidious wiles of Foreign Influence, (*I conjure you to believe me*, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake — since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a Republican Government. — *Washington.*

I hope that we may find some means in future of shielding ourselves from foreign influence; political, commercial, or in whatever form it may be attempted. I can scarcely withhold myself from joining in the wish of Silas Deane, that there were an ocean of fire between this and the old world. — *Jefferson.*

Foreign influence is truly a Grecian horse to the Republic. We cannot be too careful to exclude its entrance. — *Madison.*

Americans can do their own voting, and their own fighting. — *Gen. Harrison.*

Foreigners will render our elections a curse, instead of a blessing. — *Martin Van Buren.*

If ever the liberty of this Republic is destroyed, it will be by Roman priests. — *Gen. Lafayette.*

Security against foreign danger, is one of the primitive objects of civil society. It is an avowed and an essential object of the *American Union.* — *Madison.*

The Government of the United States is weak, inconsistent and bad; it must and will be destroyed! So long as it exists, no Prince in Europe will be safe on his throne!

The sovereigns of Europe are aware of this, and are determined upon its *destruction.* They have come to an understanding upon this subject, and *decided* on the means to accomplish it. They WILL eventually succeed, by *subversion* rather than conquest.

All the *low population* of Europe will be *carried into* America — it will be a *receptacle* for the *bad* and *disaffected.* This will create a *surplus* — a *heterogeneous* population — speaking a different language — of different religion and sentiments — they will carry with them their principles — will adhere to their former government, laws, manners, customs, and religion — speak of them among the natives, *some of whom will join with them* — and they will become *citizens* — discord and civil war will follow — some popular man will take the lead to restore order — the European *sovereigns* will aid him — all the emigrants will *join*, and the government will be SUBVERTED. — *Duke of Richmond.*

There is an imperative necessity for reforming the naturalization laws of the United States. The preservation of the government, the interest, the real welfare of all parties, the honor of the nation, all require that subordinate and different party questions should be made to yield to this great end. And no man, who esteems the prosperity and existence of his country, as of more importance than a fleeting party triumph, will, or can, hesitate to give his adherence to these principles. — *Webster.*

The flag of America is not yet seventy years old, and thrice the native sons of America have deserted it. Therefore we advise these cowards, and sons of cowards, to boast moderately. — *Boston Pilot.*

It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own, or else, in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall be paupers ourselves. — *Gen. Jackson's Letter to Dr. Coleman.*

We long to have an Irish policy in America. — *Boston Pilot.*

You should do all in your power to carry out the pious intentions of His Holiness the Pope. Where you have the electoral franchise, give your votes to none but those who will assist you in so holy a struggle. — *O'Connell's Letter to the Repealers in America.*

The institutions of this country can only be preserved by Catholicism.

Protestantism and despotism originated together, and have always gone hand in hand.

Protestant countries are always dissatisfied, whereas in Catholic countries the very peasantry are contented to remain in the condition they were born in.

We would much rather our children should grow up in ignorance of letters, than be taught in a school that is not Catholic. — *O. A. Brownson.*

From the reading of the Bible will spring liberty of conscience and religious liberty, and thence, as from an inexhaustible source, public prosperity and political liberty. Accordingly, it is your duty to remove from the hands of the faithful, Bibles in the vulgar tongue, and all other prohibited or dangerous books. We are confident that our exertions and yours will be seconded by the civil authorities. — *Pope Gregory 16th's Bull to all Bishops or Priests.*

He (Polk) has no sympathy with Native Americans. — *The Union, Polk's organ.*

'How in the name of conscience,' says the Boston Pilot, formerly and not unappropriately called '*The Jesuit*,' 'can the man have the *impudence* to find fault with *honest* emigrants, *whose own ancestors were emigrant* PIRATES (!) *for such was the character of the early settlers of New England!!!*' The pilgrim fathers of New England, *Pirates* Think of this, Americans! — You whose fathers fled from the *chains*, the *torture*, the *flames!* — of these very Roman Catholics, who now call them '*Pirates!*'

These foreigners, too, with all their other 'strong provocations, bitter, burning wrongs,' have told us that they are 'better Americans,' and hence that they better understand and can better make, administer, and defend our laws, than native citizens! and, therefore, they should rule over us according to their supreme pleasure! They have, in large bodies, formally denounced us as 'enemies of liberty,' and declared in their meetings and public papers, that they '*despise and abhor*' us. They have '*Resolved*,' at large meetings and in public papers, that 'WE (Irishmen) excel them (native citizens) in all the noble and generous virtues of the heart — that they (native Americans) are the Helots (slaves) of this happy and independent Republic, who try, like their Grecian prototypes, to obtain respectability, (!) on the ruins of *those born to be their masters!!*' They have, in formal, published resolutions, at large meetings and in the public journals, grossly insulted

and abused native citizens, by the opprobrious epithets of 'Skulking Badgers,' — 'Spawn of Puritan Bigots,' — 'Canting Knaves,' — 'Seditious and unprincipled Caterers,' — 'Ignorantly and Ruffianly of the Populace,' — 'Moral Pestilence,' — 'Panderers to the passions of the Vilest,' — 'Canting Pharisees,' — 'Bigoted Heretics,' — 'Damnable Heretics,' — 'Incendiaries,' — 'Pirates,' 'whose Ancestors were Pirates,' (!) — 'Bigoted Illiterate Creatures,' — 'Dismal-minded Calumniators,' — 'Vermin,' — 'Noxious Reptiles,' — 'Foul-mouthed Bigots,' — 'Orangemen,' — 'Damned Yankees,' — 'Mobs, infuriated and mad with inflamed and bigoted passions,' — 'Blue Law Canting Crew,' — 'Brawling Braves,' — 'Native Knaves,' — 'Pagan Savages,' — 'Heathen Mob,' — 'Hell-hounds,' &c., &c.

A Philadelphia paper said, a few days since: —

'On yesterday two more vessels arrived at this port, from Liverpool and Londonderry, filled to the very decks with the lowest, poorest, and most filthy kind of Irish. We are assured by a gentleman of veracity, that the stench which arose from these people, as they came upon the shore, was of the most offensive and disgusting kind. We dare say our Alms House will be well filled ere long; and our Criminal Court will have an additional business during the term. * * * * '*More descendants of the men who fought our Revolutionary battles!* Two vessels are now in the river, with 447 emigrants on board. Another is reported below.'

A characterless alien quotes this in his paper in this city, and expresses *his* '*indignant abhorrence* at *such* a spirit,' — as would thus state a simple and unvarnished fact. The reason is obvious; he would not have our countrymen acquainted with the introduction of *such* masses of foreign paupers. Our American papers must not therefore mention it! Oh, no! What tame fools these foreigners would make us!

Large associated bodies of emigrants have lately come to this country, and still larger are coming, according to European accounts, most of whom have signified their determination to retain and practise all their foreign habits, languages, religion, etc. These are chiefly from Germany and Ireland. The latter, and a part of the former, are to be under the charge of Romish priests. Speculators often go out to send over immense numbers of mechanics and laborers, all of which, of course, tend to *ruin our own mechanics and laborers*. A person went from Illinois to Germany, some time since, to obtain and send out from 50,000 to 100,000 laborers on speculation.

The Honorable Daniel Webster was entrusted with petitions, praying the U. S. Senate to investigate the right of a certain Senator to a seat in that body; the petitioners alleging that said Senator was and is an alien. Did the Hon. Senator present the petitions? An answer will gratify the petitioners, all of whom now suppose they were never presented.

THE LARGEST, CHEAPEST, AND MOST FASHIONABLE CLOTH AND CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

MY MOTTO,

LARGE SALES, AND SMALL PROFITS.

Nothing in the annals of the clothier's history ever equalled the annual amount of excitement produced by this Princely Establishment. Its merits are acknowledged throughout the confines of civilized creation. Wherever the English dialect is spoken, there the name of this great Outfitting Establishment is known, celebrated, and applauded. This is self-evident! for no other depot of Ready-made Clothing in the world can compare with us, in either *amount, variety, quality, strength of make*, or *prices* of goods. This is now established too firmly to admit of the shadow of dispute. The extensive amount of clothing we daily export to foreign countries, as well as to the countless towns in the Union where we advertise, is positively beyond computation. No individual need expect to acquire so prodigious a reputation in trade, unless he is willing to act up to the true system dictated by Integrity and Enterprise.

Our CASH SYSTEM is respected and eulogized by not only the Army of Patrons who give us their sole and constant custom, but by the Members of the Press, who have repeatedly enlarged upon the benefits springing from it.

TERMS AT THE 'MART OF FASHION.'

Wholesale Dealers will find an endless stock at VERY LOW PRICES.

The following is a list of a few of the many Thousand Articles that can be found, with prices annexed, at this establishment:—

Super Dress and Frock Coats, from	$ 6 00	to	12 00
Pants in all the variety,	50	to	5 00
Vests, all shades and colors,	50	to	2 50
Tweed Coats and Sacks,	3 00	to	5 00
Overalls,	37	to	50
Jackets,	50	to	1 00
Green Jackets,	1 20	to	1 25
Cravats, of Silk and Satin, all grades, and Scarfs,	12½	to	2 00
Linen Bosoms,	17	to	50
Linen Collars,	6	to	17
Umbrellas,	37	to	1 50
Carpet Bags, Valises, and Trunks,	$ 1 00	to	4 00
Socks,	10	to	25
Handkerchiefs,	8	to	75
Shirts,	50	to	1 50
Drawers,	37½	to	1 00

Soap, Tooth Brushes, Purses, Shirt Studs, &c.; Canes, Hair Oil, Hair Brushes.

BOYS' CLOTHING.

Cloth Jackets, from	$ 2 50	to	4 50
Satinet Jackets,	2 00	to	2 50
Vests,	40	to	1 25
Pants,	50	to	2 00

This Splendid Edifice, as beautiful in its internal architectural decorations as useful to mankind in a pecuniary point of view, — this temple of paintings, this shrine of art, is now open, and in the full tide of Successful Experiment!

'Awake! arise! or be unthrifty buyers.' — MILTON.

'OAK HALL!'

CITY OF BOSTON.

32, 34, 36, & 38 ANN STREET, OPPOSITE MERCHANTS' ROW,

Entrance at No. 32 Ann Street.

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